EARLY HINDI MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

being a key to the analysis
of the morphologic and syntactic structure
of Ukti-vyakti-prakarana

by
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PREFACE

While working on an outline of the Hindi syntax in its historic development, my attention was attracted by the earliest attainable Hindi (or, more precisely, Eastern Hindi or Kosali) text, namely Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa by paṇḍita Dāmodara. After having gone through this extremely important document, I came to the conclusion that it is well worthy of a detailed analysis. Thus, I must confess that the present study can be considered a little by-product of a larger work. I do not dilate upon my theoretic conception here - it has been done elsewhere; the main task of the study is nothing but to put forward the morphologic and syntactic structure of Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa, a representative text of the early Hindi language, whatever its use may be.

I thank all of them who lent me a helping hand during the preparation of this little study. It is namely Dr.Jarmila Kalousková C.Sc., Václav Černý C.Sc., Luděk Hřebíček C.Sc. and Petr Zima C.Sc., all members of the Syntactis Studies Circle; I owe a great debt of gratitude to them because of many fruitful discussions on the matter. Moreover, I am very indebted to the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences for defraying the expenses of this publication.

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INTRODUCTION

Here I put forward a detailed analysis of the morphologic and syntactic structure of Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa by paṇḍita Dāmodara.[1] The language of Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa belongs to the first half of the 12th century and has been characterized as "an early stage of Kosali or Eastern Hindi, in its Awadhi form".[2] The New Indo-Āryan text of Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa is not continuous, Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa being a grammatic treatise written in Sanskrit, but the NIA sentences quoted there show clearly that the language was fairly developed and that probably it had its own literature which is unfortunately lost.[3] There is only one discovered Hindi text previous to Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa , namely Rāula-vela[4], but its language is not homogeneous and consequently it is not so suitable for my purposes.

The language of Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa shows all important features of both Hindi morphology and syntax, and therefore it is fairly expedient for an analysis. Some of the sentences, it must be admitted, seem to be somewhat artificial, e.g. cūṭaḍ^{n} taḷa^{n} dei vaïsa 6,23-24 "sphijastale dattvopaviśati", ṭhāṇa kara 8,27 "tisthati", duhāva gāi dūdhu guāḷe^{n} gosā^{n}vi 13,27 "dohayati gām dugdham gopālena gosvāmī".[5] Nevertheless, no objections are possible from the viewpoint of the grammar proper, the oddity being merely semantic or stylistic, and it is why all sentences of Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa have been included in the study without any exception.

While analyzing the words into morphemes, or, perhaps better, morphologic elements, I followed the procedures usual in the descriptive linguistics.[6] I tried to not take account of what is not evident in Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa, though I am bold to say that I know it from other texts; therefore, I do not analyze e.g. the reflexive possessive pronoun base apaṇ-, the substentival bases kupūt- and dūjaṇ- or the verbal bases ohaṭ-, pasīj- and susoh-.

If we compare such forms as e.g.

dekha/dekhaï "he/she sees",

dekhia "he/she/it is seen",

dekhaũ^{n}	"I see",
dekhasi	"you/sg./ see",
dekhesi	"you /sg./ saw",
dekhata	"seeing",
dekhaṇihāra	"one who sees /masc./",

the use of the mathematic concept of zero becomes quite obvious.[7] I would like to emphasize only that there is a substantial difference between the meaningful zero and an irrelevant and therefore unexpressed affix.

Perhaps, it is not necessary to discuss the method at length; the following table of some forms derived from verbal roots will make it clear, I hope:[8]

Verbal bases	Causativeness	Voice	Thematic affixes	Tense or mood	Person and number	Participles, verbal substant. and adject.	Absolutives	Adverbization	Bindevokal	Agent noun	Nominal flexion	Eventual postpositions or particles	Eventual copulative bases
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
kar-	-āv-	-i-	-a-	-Ø-	-Ø-								
jāṇ-		-Ø-	-a-	-Ø-	-si								
dekh-		-Ø-	-Ø-	-e-	-si								
badh-	-āv-	-Ø-	-Ø-	-iha-	-^{n}ti								
je^{n}v-		-Ø-	-Ø-				-i						
nhā-		-Ø-	-Ø-			-Ø-		-e^{n}					
kar-		-Ø-	-a-			-n-			-e-	-har-	-e^{n}		
khaṇ-	-āv-	-Ø-	-a-			-at-					-a		
jiṇ-		-Ø-	-a-			-v-					-e^{n}	ki^{n}ha	
de-		-Ø-	-Ø-			-y-					-i		
mār-		-i-	-Ø-			-t-					-a		
khā-		-j-	-a-			-t-					-a		
hag-		-Ø-	-a-			-t-					-a		ach-

The morphologic elements may be classified both formally and semantically:[9]

		semantically	
		radical	auxiliary
formally	bound	i.1	ii.1
	free	i.2	ii.2

Radical bound morphologic elements are e.g. kar- "to do" and ghoḍ- "horse"; they have a semantic meaning, but they must be still modified according to the number, person, gender or case by some affixes. The numerous affixes are considered auxiliary bound morphologic elements, e.g. -a "dir. sg./pl. masc.", -e "adverbizer" and kar- "adjectivizer". Radical free morphologic elements have a semantic meaning and need not (and, also, they cannot) be modified by affixes, e.g. nita "always". And, finally, auxiliary free elements are such words like jaĩ "if".

With regard to this classification, only the morphologic elements of the classes ii.1 and ii.2 are listed in the following key; moreover, however, all the substitutes, i.e.pronouns and pronominal adjectives and adverbs, are included, too, because still I am not sure whether they should be classified as radical or auxiliary.

As the sentence part functions, it seems suitable to set up the subject (S), the predicate (P), the object (O), the attribute (A) and the complement (C)[10]. The traditional division of words into parts of speech[11] is entirely unsuitable for my purposes, and thus I divide the words that can realize a sentence part function, i.e.the functors, into nine basic functor classes with some sub-classes in the following way:

1 - substantives and substantivized parts of speech which were not placed into any of the other classes here,

21 - non-participial verbal tenses and the imperative of intransitive verbs,[12]

22 - non-participial verbal tenses and the imperative of transitive verbs,[13]

31 - imperfective and perfective adjectival participles of intransitive verbs,

321 - imperfective adjectival participles of transitive verbs,
322 - perfective adjectival participles of transitive verbs,
411 - verbal substantive (gerundium) of intransitive verbs,
412 - verbal substantive (gerundium) of transitive verbs,
421 - agent noun of intransitive verbs,
422 - agent noun of transitive verbs,
43 - verbal adjective of both intransitive and transitive verbs,[14]

51 - personal and reflexive pronouns,
52 - demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns and cardinal and collective numerals,[15]

53 - possessive pronouns and ordinal numerals,
61 - adjectives,[16]
62 - the so-called genitive and other adjectivized forms,
63 - pronominal adjectives,
711 - imperfective and perfective adverbial participles of intransitive verbs,

712 - imperfective and perfective adverbial participles of transitive verbs,

721 - absolutives of intransitive verbs,
722 - absolutives of transitive verbs,
81 - adverbs,
82 - adverbialized forms of possessive pronouns, ordinal numerals, adjectives, the so-called genitive and pronominal adjectives,

91 - clauses,
92 - quoted phrases.[17]

A sentence part is symbolized by a letter (its function) and by a number (its functor), as both these are important for the characterization of the sentence parts distribution.

In some sentences a special kind of non-sentential subject /s/ appears; it is usually realized by a substantive in a certain non-sentential predicative relationship with an adverbial participle, e.g. jamāī āe cāulu kāⁿḍa 39,13 "yāmātaryāgate

tandulāⁿ kaṇḍayati" or pāṇiⁿ variseⁿ viḍavā uluha 52,22 "pāṇīye vṛṣṭe viṭapa ullaṭhati".

Where it is relevant, the following indices are used with the numeric symbols of some functor classes:

a - associate dependent sentence part,[18]
i - incongruent form } of the accordant dependent
c - congruent form } sentence part,[19]
dir - direct case form,
obl - oblique case form,
erg - ergative case form.[20]

The original functors of the classes 62 (adjectivized) and 82 (adverbized) are reminded of in some cases by the respective number after a fraction line, for there are some differencies in the distribution.

The forms of copulative verbs are symbolized by the respective functor numbers after a decimal point.

Both the morphologic and syntactic structure of Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa are presented in the same way. I am of the opinion that the morphologic and syntactic elements of a language are determined not only by themselves, but also by what precedes and what follows in actual sequences.[21] The following lists of the morphologic and syntactic elements are arranged in the shape of three columns. It is the middle column where the order, either alphabetic or hierarchic, is observed; the eventually preseding elements are written down in the first column, and the following ones are griven in the third column. The morphologic elements are put in rows according to their real sequence in the respective forms. The syntactic elements, however, follow the sequence of their syntactic hierarchy and not the word-order.

This arrangement of the morphologic and syntactic elements has a cartain advantage: e.g. by virtue of three forms eti, eteⁿ and teta, recorded as

Ø t-	-ET-	-a -i -e^n

it is quite easy to predict the existence of the forms eta, tati and tete^n, which are not evident in the text, but which are undoubtedly correct.

And similarly, if e.g. two syntactic phrases S 1: P 22 : O 91^a and S 51 : P 22 : C 721 are verified and arranged like this,

S 1 S 51	P 22	O 91^a C 721

then it is reasonable, on the principle of analogy, to assume that also S 1 : P 22 : C 721 and S 51 : P 22 : O 91^a may occur.

There are not only all the evident chains of elements, both morphologic and syntactic, recorded in this study, but also all the chains that can be theoretically deduced on the basis of the material are predicted here, so that an unlimited number of new sentences not in the original corpus is projected.

To the end that the real connexion between morphology and syntax might be demonstrated, throughout the list of the morphologic elements, numeric symbols of respective functors are given in brackets after every last member of any morphologic sequence that can realize a sentence part function.

The minimal requirement which is usually placed on a theory about a language is that it should specify and predict all and only the sentences of a language. The number of different sentences is infinite, but the theory must be finite in length. But the number of elements is finite, no doubt; it is only the number of their combinations which is not. In order to provide for an infinitude of the possible chains, or sequences, a grammar must have a basic property called recursiveness, i.e. it must properly reflect the language reality. There are e.g. two syntactic sequences A 61^i : C 1 and C 1 : A 61^i evident in the analyzed material; it means that A 61^i (a head sentence part) can be expanded by C 1 (its expanding dependent sentence part), and that also C 1 (a head sentence part) can be expanded by A 61^i (its expanding dependent sentence part). From this fact we can deduce that theoreti-

cally an infinite chain A 61^i : C 1 : A 61^i : C 1 : A 61^i : C 1 : A 61^i : ... can really exist; there are, of course, certain practical limitations.

But not only this. An empirically adequate theory of a natural language must explain many other facts which cannot be explained by mere description of a certain number of analyzed sentences.[23] This has been done, at least in the shape of a preliminary outline; the problems connected with the delimitation of the sentence, the sentence parts, the syntactic relationships (both endosyntagmatic and exosyntagmatic), and also the shifts of syntactic function and some others have been discussed in my previous studies.[24]

Thus, I hope that my work meets all the requirements, at least, in a measure. Here, merely a practical result of my theoretic approach is presented - I would like to label it as a key to the analysis of the morphologic and syntactic structure of Ukti-vyakti-prakarana.

MORPHOLOGIC ELEMENTS[25]

	What may precede	Elements under consideration	What may follow
i.1	-	$\emptyset_1$- "demonstrativeness"; see i-/ī-$_1$	-e_7, -et-, -ethu/ -ethu^n, -enha/-enhu/ -ehū /-ehū^n/-e^{n}nha
i.2	Substantival bases like rājā- "king", paharī- "watchman", vāu- "wind", pā^{n}ḍe- "paṇḍita"[26]	-$\emptyset_2$ "dir.sg./pl.masc. /subst./"; see -a_1, -ā$_1$, -u_2, -e_2, -ai_1, -au_3	- /=1/
i.3	Substantival bases like vidyā- "science", naī-/ nai- "river", sāsu- "mother-in--law"	-$\emptyset_3$ "dir.sg./pl.fem. /subst./; see -a_2, -i_1, -ī$_1$, -ī$^n{}_1$, -ai_2	- /= 1/
i.4	Substantival bases like ojhā- "teacher", sātu- "parched grain powder"	-$\emptyset_4$ obl. sg./pl.masc. (subst./; see -a_3, -anha/=anhu/-anhū/ -al, -a, -u$_3$, -e$_3$, -e$^n{}_1$, -ai^n, -$^n{}_1$, -nha	+ kar-, pāsa, -hi/-hi^n[27]; /=1/
i.5	Substantival bases like mā- "mother", nadī- "river"	-$\emptyset_5$ "obl.sg./pl.fem. /subst./"; see -a_4, -i_2, -ī$^n{}_2$, -e_4, -e$^n{}_2$, -ai_3, -$^n{}_2$	+ kar-, -hi/-hi^n; /=1/
i.6	Adjectival bases bahu-"numerous, many"; numeral bases like dui-/duī/dū- "two"	-$\emptyset_6$[28] "dir./obl. sg./pl. masc./fem. /adj./"; see -a_5, -ā$_2$, -i_3, -i^n, -ī$_2$, -ī$^n{}_3$, -u_4, -e_5, -e_6, -$^n{}_3$, -ya	/=52,61/
i.7	Verbal bases like acch-/ā́cch-/ā́ch- "to be", kar- "to do, to make", lih- "to write", so- "to sleep"; -ī-, -av-/-āv-/-ā^{n}v, -ār$_2$-, -āl-, -āv-, -kār-, -v$_3$-	-$\emptyset_7$- "active voice"	-$\emptyset_8$-, -a_{10}-, -ā$_5$-, -e_{10}-
i.8	-$\emptyset_7$-, -i_5-, -e_9-	-$\emptyset_8$- "thematic affix"; see -a_{10}-, -ā$_5$-, -e_{10}-	-$\emptyset_9$-, -$\emptyset_{10}$-, -$\emptyset_{13}$-, -a_8, -i_6-, -i/-ī$_2$, -iha-/-īha-, -e_{11}-, -es-, -ai_5, -aiha-, -^{n}t-/-t-/-nt-, -^{n}-, -n-, -v_1-, -v_2-
i.9	-$\emptyset_8$-, -a_{10}-, -ā$_5$-, -e_{10}-	-$\emptyset_9$- "present tense"[29]	-$\emptyset_{11}$, -i_4, -u^n, -e_{13}, -ai_4, -^{n}ti/-ti, -si, -hu_2, -hu_3
i.10	-$\emptyset_8$-	-$\emptyset_{10}$- "present imperative mood"	-aü, -u_5, -u_6
i.11	-$\emptyset_9$-, -iha-/-īha-, -aiha-	-$\emptyset_{11}$ "3rd pers.sg."; [30] see -aü, -i_4, -u_6, -e_{13}, -ai_4	- /=2/

1.12	$-\emptyset_9-$	$-\emptyset_{12}$ "1st pers.pl."[31]	-/= 2/
1.13	$-\emptyset_8-$	$-\emptyset_{13}-$ "perfective participle"[32]; see -n-	$-a_5$, $-\bar{a}_2$, $-i_3$, $-\bar{I}_2$, -e, $-e/-e^n$, -ya
1.14	Verbal bases like upaḍ- "to be rooted up", ukil-"to be nailed up", $sa^nkuḍ$- "to bend, to be bashful"	-!-/the guṇa of the radical vowel/ "causativeness";[33] see -av-/-āv-/ $-\bar{a}^nv-$, $-\bar{a}r_2-$, $-\bar{a}l-$, $-v_3-$	$-\emptyset_7-$
1.15	Substantival bases like guāl- "cowherd", ru-/rū-"cotton", hi- "heart"; -avaḍ-, -ṇ-, -vāl-, sav-, -hār-	$-A_1$ "dir.sg./pl.masc. /subst./"; see $-\emptyset_2$, $-\bar{a}_1$, $-u_2$, $-e_2$, $-ai_1$, $-au_3$	- /= 1/
1.16	Substantival bases like jībh- "tongue".	$-A_2$ "dir. sg.fem. /subst./"[34]; see $-\emptyset_3$, $-i_1$, $-\bar{I}_1$, $-\bar{I}^n_1$, $-ai_2$	- /= 1/
1.17	Substantival bases like mīt- "friend"	$-A_3$ "obl.sg./pl.masc. /subst./"; see $-\emptyset_4$, -anha/-anhu-/anhū/ -ahū, $-a^n_1$, $-\bar{a}^n$, $-u_3$, $-e_3$, $-e^n_1$, $-ai^n$, $-^n_1$, -nha	+kar-, kiha/kiha^n/ ki^{n}ha/keha^n/ke^{n}ha^n, to/tau, -vāl-, -hi/-hi^n, hu^{n}ta; /= 1/

1.18	Substantival bases like bhūṣ- "hunger"	$-A_4$ "obl.sg.fem./subst./; see $-\emptyset_5$, $-i_2$, $-\bar{I}^n_2$, $-e_4$, $-e^n_2$, $-ai_3$, $-^n_2$	+ -hi/-hi^n; /=1/
1.19	Adjectival bases like būḍh- "old", halu-"light, easy"; pronominal bases like apaṇ-/apāṇ-/ āpaṇ-; $-\emptyset_{13}-$, -as-/-ais-, $-\bar{a}r_1-$, $-\bar{a}h-$, -or-, $-^nt-/-t-/-t-$, kar-, $-v_2-$	$-A_5$ "dir./obl. sg./pl. masc./fem./adj./"[35]; see $-\emptyset_6$, $-\bar{a}_2$, $-i_3$, $-i^n$, $-\bar{I}_2$, $-\bar{I}^n_3$, $-u_4$, $-e_5$, $-e_6$, $-^n_3$, -ya	+acch-/ācch-/ āch-; /=3,43,52-3,6/
1.20	Pronominal bases like amh- "we"	$-A_6$ "obl./pron./"	+to/tau, pāsa; /= 51/
1.21	k-	$-A_7$ "obl.sg./pron./"; see $-\bar{a}_3$	+ kar-; / = 52/
1.22	$-\emptyset_8-$	$-A_8$ "absolutive"; see -i/$-\bar{I}_2$, $-ai_5$	- /= 72/
1.23	-as-/-ais-, -et-, $-^nt-/-t-/-nt-$	$-A_9$ "adverbization"; see $-i_7$, -e/$-e^n$	- /= 71,82/
1.24	$-\emptyset_7-$, $-i_5-$, $-j_2-$	$-A_{10}-$ "thematic affix"; see $-\emptyset_8-$, $-\bar{a}_5-$, $-e_{10}-$	$-\emptyset_9-$, $-^nt-/-t-/$ -nt-, -ṇ-, $-v_1-$, $-v_2-$

i.25	$-\emptyset_{10}$-	-AŪ 3rd pers.sg[36];see $-\emptyset_{11}$,$-i_4$,$-u_6$,$-ai_4$	-/= 2/
i.26	$-a_5$,-i/$-\bar{I}_2$+	ACCH-/ĀCCH-/ĀCH- "to be /copula/"[37]	$-\emptyset_7$-, $-i_5$-
i.27	-	AṆA- "negative prefix"[38]	Verbal bases like pā- "to get"
i.28	Substantival bases like sīs- "head"	-ANHA/-ANHU/-ANHŪ/-AHŪ "obl.pl.masc./subst./";[39] see $-\emptyset_4$, $-a_3$,$-a^n_1$, $-\bar{a}^n$, $-u_3$,$-e_3$,$-e^n_1$, $-ai^n$, $-^n_1$,-ha,and also -enha/-enhu/-ehū/-enū^n/,$-e^n$nha	* pāsa; /=1/
i.29	-	APAṆ-/APĀṆ-/ĀPAṆ- "reflexive possessive pronoun"[40]	$-a_5$,$-\bar{I}^n_3$,$-u_4$, $-e_5$, $-e_6$
i.30	j_1-, t_2-	-ABA/-AVA "time adverb"[41]; see $-\bar{a}_4$	- /= 81/[42]
i.31	-	AMH- "1st pers.pl. pronoun"[43]	$-a_6$, $-\bar{a}r_1$-,$-e_8$
i.32	-	ARE "vocative particle"[44]; see AHO_1	-
i.33	Verbal bases like padh- "to read, to learn",so- "to sleep"	-AV-/-ĀV-/-$Ā^nV$- "causativeness"[45]; see -i-,$-\bar{a}r_2$-, $-\bar{a}l$-, $-v_3$- -AVA see under-ABA/-AVA!	$-\emptyset_7$-, $-i_5$-
i.34	k-	-AVAṆ- "animate pronoun"[46]	$-a_1$, $-e_3$
i.35	k-, j_1-, t_2-	-AS-/-AIS- "pronominal adjective of quality"[47] -AHŪ see under - ANHA/-ANHU/-ANHŪ/-AHŪ!	$-a_5$,$-a_9$,-e/$-e^n$
i.36	-	AHO_1 "vocative particle"[48]; see ARE	
i.37	Substantival bases like pitar- "ancestor"	$-AHO_2$ "voc.pl.masc."[50]	-[49]
i.38	Substantival bases like khet- "field"	$-A^n_1$ "obl.sg.masc. /subst./"	
i.39	$-^nt$-/-t-/-nt-	$-A^n_2$ "obl.sg.masc./adj./"	- /=31,321/
i.40	Substantival bases like beṭ- "boy/girl", ge^ndu- "ball"; -vāl-	$-\bar{A}_1$ "dir.ag./pl. masc./subst./";[51] see $-\emptyset_2$,$-a_1$,$-u_2$, $-e_2$,$-ai_1$, $-au_3$	- /= 1/

i.41	$-\emptyset_{13}-$	$-\bar{A}_2$ "dir.sg.masc. /adj./"[52]; see $-\emptyset_6$, $-a_5$, $-i_3$, $-i^n$, $-\bar{i}_2$, $-\bar{i}^n{}_3$, $-u_4$, $-e_5$, $-e_6$, $-^n{}_3$, -ya	- /= 31,322/
i.42	k-, j_1-, t_2-	$-\bar{A}_3$ "obl.sg./pron./"[53]; see $-a_7$	+ -hi/$-hi^n$, -he, kar-, kiha/$kiha^n$/ ki^nha/$keha^n$/ke^nha^n, to/tau, pāsa; /= 52/[54]
i.43	k-	$-\bar{A}_4$ "time adverb"[55]; see -aba/-ava	- /= 81/
i.44	$-\emptyset_7-$, $-i_5-$ "	$-\bar{A}_5-$ "thematic affix"; see $-\emptyset_8-$, $-a_{10}-$, $-e_{10}-$	$-\emptyset_9-$
		ĀCCH-/ĀCH-see under ACCH-/ĀCCH-/ĀCH-!	
i.45	-	ĀTHI "he/she/it is"[56]; see nāthi	/= 21/
		ĀPAṆ- see under APAN-/ĀPAN-/ĀPAṆ-!	
i.46	Pronominal bases like amh- "we"	$-\bar{A}R_1-$ "possessive pronoun"[57]; see -or-	- a_5
i.47	Verbal bases like vais- "to sit down"	$-\bar{A}R_2-$ "causativeness"[58]; see -!-, -av-/$-\bar{a}v-$/ $-\bar{a}^nv-$, $-\bar{a}l-$, $-v_3-$	$-\emptyset_7-$

i.48	Verbal bases like dekh- "to see, to look at"	$-\bar{A}l-$ "causativeness"[59]; see -!-, -av-/$-\bar{a}v-$/ $-\bar{a}^nv-$, $-\bar{a}r_2-$, $-v_3-$	$-\emptyset_7-$
i.49	Onomatopoeic expressions like galagal-[60] or gohar-[61]	$-\bar{A}V-$ "derivation of verbs"; see $-k\bar{a}r-$	$-\emptyset_7-$
		$-\bar{A}V-$ see also under $-AV-/-\bar{A}V-/-\bar{A}^nV-$!	
i.50	k-	$-\bar{A}H-$ "inanimate pronoun"[62]	$-a_5$, $-e^n{}_1$
i.51	Substantival bases like pīḍh- "bench"	$-\bar{A}^n$ "obl.sg.masc./subst./"; see $-\emptyset_4$, $-a_3$, -anha/ $-anhu/-anh\bar{u}/-ah\bar{u}$, $-a^n{}_1$, $-u_3$, $-e_3$, $-e^n{}_1$, $-ai^n$, $-^n{}_1$, -nha	- / = 1/
		$-\bar{A}^nV-$ see under $-AV-/-\bar{A}V-/-\bar{A}^nV-$!	
i.52	Substantival bases like jo- "girl"; $-h\bar{a}r-$	$-I_1$ "dir.sg.fem./subst./"; see $-\emptyset_3$, $-a_2$, $-\bar{i}_1$, $-\bar{i}^n{}_1$, $-ai_2$	- /= 1/
i.53	Substantival bases like mehal "lady"	$-I_2$ "obl.sg.fem. /subst./"; see $-\emptyset_5$, $-a_4$, $-\bar{i}^n{}_2$, $-e_4$, $-e^n{}_2$, $-ai_3$, $-^n{}_2$	+ kar-, -hi/$-hi^n$; /= 1/

i.54 Adjectival bases like nag- "naked"; $-\emptyset_{13}$-, -et-, $-v_2$-	$-I_3$ "dir./obl. sg./pl. fem.(adj./"; see $-\emptyset_6$, $-a_5$, $-\bar{a}_2$, $-i^n$, $-\bar{I}^n{}_3$, $-u_4$, $-e_5$, $-e_6$, $-^n{}_3$, -ya	+ vāra[63] /= 31,322,43,61,63/
i.55 $-\emptyset_9$-	$-I_4$ "3rd pers.sg."; see $-\emptyset_{11}$, -aũ , $-u_6$, $-e_{13}$, $-ai_4$	- /= 2/
i.56 Verbal bases like acch-/ā́cch-/ā́ch- "to be", khel- "to play", jā- "to go"; -av-/-āv-/-ā́^{n}v-, $-v_3$-	$-I_5$- "passive"[64]; see $-e_9$-, $-j_2$-	$-\emptyset_8$-, $-a_{10}$-, $-\bar{a}_5$-
i.57 $-\emptyset_8$-	$-I_6$- "past tense"[65]; see $-e_{11}$-	-si
i.58 $-^n$ṭ-/-ṭ-/-nṭ-	$-I_7$ "adverbization"[66]; see $-a_9$, -e /-e^n	- /= 82/
i.59 -ṛ-	$-I_8$- "Bindevokal"[67]; see $-e_{12}$-	-hār-
i.60 -	I/I^n "exclusive emphatic particle"[68]; see $-ai_1$, $-ai_2$, hi/hi^n/ hi^n, he^n	-

i.61 -	I-/Ī-$_1$ "demonstrativeness"; see $\emptyset_1$-	-hā̃/-hā̃^{n}/-^{n}nā̃
i.62 $-\emptyset_8$-	-I/-Ī$_2$ "absolutive"[69]; see $-a_8$, $-ai_5$	+ acch-/ā́cch-/ā́ch-; / = 72/
i.63 k-	-ICHU "inanimate pronoun"[70]	- /= 52/
i.64 $-\emptyset_8$-	-IHA-/-ĪHA- "future tense"[71]; see -aiha-	$-\emptyset_{11}$, -u^n, -^{n}ti/ -ti, -si
	I^n see also under I/I^n;	
i.65 kar-	$-I^n$ "obl.sg.fem./adj./"; see $-\emptyset_6$, $-a_5$, $-\bar{a}_2$, $-i_3$, $-\bar{I}_2$, $-\bar{I}^n{}_3$, $-u_4$, $-e_5$, $-e_6$, $-^n{}_3$, -ya	- /= 62/
i.66 Substantival bases like beṭ- "son/daughter"	$-\bar{I}_1$ "dir.sg./pl.fem. /subst./"; see $-\emptyset_3$, $-a_2$, $-i_1$, $-\bar{I}^n{}_2$, $-ai_2$	- /= 1/
i.67 Adjectival bases like dīrgh- "long", parā- "somebody else's"; $-\emptyset_{13}$-	- $\bar{I}_2$ dir. sg./pl.fem. /adj./"; see $-\emptyset_6$, $-a_5$, $-\bar{a}_2$, $-i_3$, $-i^n$, $-\bar{I}^n{}_3$, $-u_4$, $-e_5$, $-e_6$, $-^n{}_3$, -ya -ĪHA-see under -IHA-/ -ĪHA-!	- /= 31, 322,61/

i.68	Substantival bases like beṭ- "don/daughter"	$-\tilde{I}^{n}_{1}$ "dir.pl.fem./subst./"; see $-\emptyset_3$, $-a_2$, $-i_1$, $-\tilde{I}_1$, $-ai_2$	- /= 1/
i.69	Substantival bases like kahaṇ- "story,tale"	$-\tilde{I}^{n}_{2}$ "obl.ag./pl.fem. /subst./"; see $-\emptyset_5$, $-a_4$, $-i_2$, $-e_4$, $-e^{n}_{2}$, $-ai_3$, $-^{n}_{2}$	- /= 1/
i.70	Adjectival bases like a^{n}dhār- "dark"; prominal bases like apaṇ-/apāṇ-/āpaṇ-; kar-	$-\tilde{I}^{n}_{3}$ "obl.ag.fem./adj./"[72] see $-\emptyset_6$, $-a_5$, $-\tilde{a}_2$, $-i_3$, $-i^{n}$, $-\tilde{I}_2$, $-u_4$, $-e_5$, $-e_6$, $-^{n}_{3}$, $-ya$	-/= 53,61,62/
i.71	-	U_1 "inclusive emphatic particle"[73]; see $-au_3$, hu_1	-
i.72	Substantival bases like dūdh- "milk", ghi- "ghee"; bahut-	$-U_2$ "dir.sg./pl.masc. /subst./"; see $-\emptyset_2$, $-a_1$, $-\tilde{a}_1$, $-e_2$, $-ai_1$, $-au_3$	- /= 1/
i.73	Substantival bases like brāhmaṇ- "brāhmaṇa"	$-U_3$ "obl.sg.masc. /subst./"[74]; see $-\emptyset_4$, $-a_3$, $-anha/-anhu/-anhū/-ahū$, $-a^{n}_{1}$, $-a^{-n}$, $-e_3$, $-e^{n}_{1}$, $-ai^{n}$, $-^{n}_{1}$, $-nha$	+ kiha/kiha^{n}/ ki^{n}ha/ keha^{n}/ke^{n}ha^{n}; /= 1/
i.74	Adjectival bases like nīc- "low"; numeral bases like ek- "one"; pronominal bases like apaṇ-/apāṇ-/āpaṇ-	$-U_4$ "dir./obl.sg.masc. /adj./"	-/= 53,52,61/
i.75	$-\emptyset_{10}$-, -es-	$-U_5$ "2nd pers.sg."[75] see - si	- /= 2/
i.76	$-\emptyset_{10}$-	$-U_6$ "3rd pers.ag."[76] see $-\emptyset_{11}$, $-aũ$, $-i_4$, $-ai_4$	- /= 2/
i.77	t_1-	$-U/-U^{n}/-\tilde{U}^{n}$ "dir."[77]	- /= 51/
i.78	$-\emptyset_9$-, -iha-/-$\tilde{I}$ha-	$-U^{n}$ "1st pers.sg."[78]	- /= 2/
i.79	-	E_1 "dir.sg.of demonstrative pronoun"[79] see $\emptyset_1$-, $-e_7$	- /= 52/
i.80	Substantival bases like ghoṛ- "horse"	$-E_2$ "dir.pl.masc. /subst./"; see $-\emptyset_2$, $-a_1$, $-\tilde{a}_1$, $-u_2$, $-ai_1$, $-au_3$	- /= 1/
i.81	Substantival bases like kāṭh- "wood"; -avaṇ-, $-v_1$-, -hār-	$-E_3$ "obl.sg.masc. /subst./"[80] see $-\emptyset_4$, $-a_3$, -anha/ -anhu/-anhū/-ahū, $-a^{n}_{1}$, $-\tilde{a}^{n}$, $-u_3$, $-e^{n}_{2}$, $-ai^{n}$, $-^{n}_{1}$, -nha	+kar-, kāje^{n}, kiha/kiha^{n}/ ki^{n}ha/keha^{n}/ ke^{n}ha^{n}, se^{n}u^{n}, -hi/ -hi^{n}, -he/he^{n}

i.82	Substantival bases like jonh- "moonlight"	-E_4 "obl.sg.fem. /subst./";[81] see -$Ø_5$, -a_4, -i_2, -$ī^n{}_2$, -$e^n{}_2$, -ai_3, -$^n{}_2$	- /= 1/
i.83	Pronominal bases like apaṇ-/apāṇ-/ āpaṇ-; -$Ø_{13}$-	-E_5 "dir.pl.masc. /adj./"; see -$Ø_6$, -a_5, -$ā_2$, -i_3, -i^n, -$ī^n{}_2$, -$ī^n{}_3$, -u_4, -e_6, -$^n{}_3$, -ya	-/= 31,322,53/
i.84	Pronominal bases like apaṇ-/apāṇ-/ āpaṇ-; -r-	-E_6 "obl.sg./pl.masc. /adj./";see -$Ø_6$, -a_5, -$ā_2$, -i_3, -i^n, -$ī^n{}_2$, -$ī^n{}_3$, -u_4, -e_5, -$^n{}_3$, -ya	-/= 322,53/
i.85	$Ø_1$-, k-, j_1- t_2-	-E_7 "dir.pl./pron./"[82]	+ dui-/duī-/dū-, bahut-, sav-; /= 52/[83]
i.86	Pronominal bases like amh- "we"	-E_8 "dir./pron./"[84]	+dui- bahut-; /= 51/
i.87	Verbal bases like pa-/pā- "to get"	-E_9- "passive"[85]; see -i_5-, -j_2-	-$Ø_8$-
i.88	-$Ø_7$-	-E_{10}- "thematic affix"[86]; see -$Ø_8$-, -a_{10}-, -$ā_5$-	-$Ø_9$-, -^nt-/-t-/-nt-

i.89	-$Ø_8$-	-E_{11}- "past tense"[87]; see -i_6-	-si
i.90	-ṇ-	-E_{12}- "Bindevokal"[88]; see -i_8-	-hār-
i.91	-$Ø_9$-	-E_{13} "3rd pers.sg."[89]; see -$Ø_{11}$, -i_4, -ai_4	-/= 2/
i.92	Adjectival bases like thod- "not many.little"; -$Ø_{13}$-, -as-/-ais-, -^nt-/-t-/-nt-	-E/-E^n "adverbization"[90]; see -a_9, -i_7.	- /= 71, 82/
i.93	k-, j_1-, t_2-	-EI/-EI^n/-$Ē$I/-E^nI^n "obl.sg./pron./"	+ k-[91]; /= 52/[92]
i.94	-au_1+	EK- "approximative particle"[93]	-a_5
i.95	$Ø_1$-, k-	-ET- "pronominal adjective of quantity"[94]	-a_9, -i_3, -$e^n{}_3$, -au_1
i.96	$Ø_1$-, j_1-	-ETHU/-ETHU^n "place adverb"[95]; see -hā/-hā^n/-^{n}hā	+ kiha/kiha^n/ ki^{n}ha/keha^n/ ke^{n}ha^n; -+ 81/[96]
i.97	$Ø_1$-, t_2-	-ENHA/-ENHU/-EHŪ/ -EHŪ^n/-E^nNHA "obl.pl./pron./"[97]; see -anha/-anhu/ -anhū/-ahū	+ kar-, dui-/ duī-/ dū-, mājha/mājha^n/ mā^{n}jha/mā^{n}jha^n; /= 52/

i.98 j_1-, t_2- -EMA/-E^nMA - /= 81/ [98]
"manner adverb"

i.99 -$\emptyset_8$- -ES- -u_5
"future imperative mood" [90]

i.100 k- -EHŪ^n -/= 52/
"obl.sg./pron./"[100]

-EHŪ/-EHŪ^n see under
-ENHA/-ENHU/-EHŪ/
-EHŪ^n/-E^nNHA!

i.101 Substantival bases like guāl- "cowherd", ha^{n}si- "sickle"; -āh-, -v_1-, -hār- -E^n_1 "obl.sg.masc. /subst./"[101]; see -$\emptyset_4$, -a_3, -anha/-anhu/ -anhū/-ahū, -u_3, -e_3, -ai^n, -$^n_1$, -nha +kar-, kiha/kiha^n/ ki^{n}ha/heha^n/he^{n}ha^n, jeu^n, pāhū, rā^{n}dha, saū^n, -hi/-hi^n; /=1, 41-2, 52/

i.102 Substantival bases like bhūkh- "hunger" -E^n_2 "obl.sg.fem. /subst./"[102]; see -$\emptyset_5$, -a_4, -i_2, -$\bar{I}^n_2$, -e_4, -ai$_3$, -$^n_2$ - /= 1/

i.103 -et-, kar- -E^n_3 "obl.sg./pl.masc. /adj./" - /= 62-3/

-E^n see also under
-E/-E^n!

-E^nNHA see under
-ENHA/-ENHU/-EHŪ/
-EHŪ^n/-E^nNHA!

-E^nMA see under
-EMA/-E^nMA!

i.104 Substantival bases like pūt- "son" -AI_1 "dir.sg./pl.masc. emphasized by i/i^n; see -$\emptyset_2$, -a_1, -$\bar{a}_1$, i/i^n, -u_2, -e_2, .au -au$_3$ - /= 1/

i.105 Numeral bases like ek- "one" -AI_2 "dir.sg./adj./emphasized by i/i^n,[103] see -$\emptyset_3$, -a_2, -i_1, i/i^n, -$\bar{I}_1$, -$\bar{I}^n_1$, -ai$_2$ - /= 52/

i.106 Substantival bases like prajñ- "intellect" -AI_3 "obl.sg.fem. /subst./"[104]; see -$\emptyset_5$, -a_4, -i_2, -$\bar{I}^n_2$, -e_4, -e^n_2, -$^n_2$ - /= 1/

i.107 -$\emptyset_9$- -AI_4 "3 rd pers.sg."[105]; see -$\emptyset_{11}$, -aū, -i_4, -u_6, -e_{13}, - /= 2/

i.108 -$\emptyset_8$- -AI_5 "absolutive"[106]; see -a_8, -i/-$\bar{I}_2$ - /= 72/

i.109 Pronominal bases like t_1- "you /sg./" -AI/-AI^n "ergative case"[107] - /= 51/

-AIS- see under
-AS-/-AIS-!

i.110 -$\emptyset_8$- -AIHA- "future tense"[108]; see -iha-/-īha- -$\emptyset_{11}$

i.111	j_1-, t_2-	-AIHĀ "loc.sg./pron./"[109]	-
i.112	Substantival bases like bha- "fear", vo^nṭ- "spinning-top"	-AI^n "obl.sg.masc. /subst./"; see -Ø$_4$, -a$_3$, -anha/-anhu/-anhū/-ahū, -a$^n{}_1$, -ā^n, -u$_3$, -e$_3$, -e$^n{}_1$, -nha -AI^n see also under -AI/-AI^n!	- /=1/
i.113	k-, j_1-, s-	-0 "dir.sg./pl. /pron./"; see -au$_1$	+ k-ichu[110]; /= 52/
i.114	Pronominal bases like t_1- "you /sg./"	-0/-0^n "obl."[111]	+-hi/-hi^n; /= 51/
i.115	Pronominal bases like m- "I"	-OR- "possessiveness"; see -ār$_1$-	-a$_5$
i.116	-et-, s-	-AU$_1$ "dir.sg./pron./"; see -o	+ ek-; /=52,63/
i.117	t_2-	-AU$_2$ "obl.sg./pron./"[112]	+ to/tau; /= 52/
i.118	Substantival bases like sahas- "thousand"	-AU$_3$ "dir.sg.masc. emphasized by u"[113]; see -Ø$_2$, -a$_1$, -ā$_1$, u$_1$, -u$_2$, -e$_2$, -ai$_1$	- /= 1/

i.119	Substantival bases like pāni- "water"	-$^n{}_1$ "obl.sg.masc. /subst./"[114]; see -Ø$_4$, -a$_3$, -anha/-anhu/-anhū/-ahū, -a$^n{}_1$, -ā^n, -u$_3$, -e$_3$, -e$^n{}_1$, -ai^n, -nha	- /= 1/
i.120	Substantival bases like ā^{n}khi- "eye", vathu- "thing", sabhā- "assembly"	-$^n{}_2$ "obl.sg./pl.fem. /subst./"[115]; see -Ø$_5$, -a$_4$, -i$_2$, -ī$^n{}_2$, -e$_4$, -e$^n{}_2$, -ai$_3$	+ kar-, kari / = 1/
i.121	Numeral bases like dui-/duī-/dū- "two"	-$^n{}_3$ "obl./adj./"; see -Ø$_6$, -a$_5$, -ā$_2$, -i$_3$, -i^n, -ī$_2$, -ī$^n{}_3$, -u$_4$, -e$_5$, -e$_6$, -ya	- /= 52/
i.122	-Ø$_8$-, -a$_{10}$-	-^{n}T-/-T-/-NT- "imperfective participle"[116]; see hu^{n}ta	-a$_5$, -a$_9$, -a$^n{}_2$, -i$_7$, -e/-e^n
i.123	-Ø$_9$-, -iha-/-īha-	-^{n}TI/-TI "3rd pers.pl."[117]	-/ = 2/
i.124	j_1-o, j_1-ei/-ei^n/-eī/-e^{n}i^n +	K- "interrogativeness/ indefiniteness";	-a$_7$, -avaṇ-, -as-/-ais-, -ā$_3$, -ā$_4$, -āh-, -ichu, -e$_7$, -ei/-ei^n/-eī/-e^{n}i^n, -et-, -ehu^n, -o

i.125	$-\emptyset_4$-, $-\emptyset_5$-, $-a_3$-, $-a_7$-, $-\bar{a}_3$-, $-i_2$-, $-e_3$-, -enha/-enhu/ -ehū/-ehū^n/ $-e^n$nha, $-e^n{}_1$, $-{}^n{}_2$ +	KAR- "adjectivizer/the so-called genitive postposition/"[118]	$-a_5$-, $-i^n$, $-\bar{i}^n{}_3$, $-e^n{}_1$
i.126	$-{}^n{}_2$ +	KARI "locative/instrumental postposition"[119]	- /= 1/
i.127	-	KĀ- "interrogativeness/indefiniteness"; see k-	-hā/-hā^n/-^{n}hā
i.128	$-e_3$ +	KĀJE^n "for thesake of"[120]	- /= 1/
i.129	Onomatopoeic expressions like cucu-, ha-	-KĀR- "derivation of verbs"[121]; sees $-\bar{a}v_2$-	$-\emptyset_7$-
i.130	-	KI "interrogative particle"[122]	-
i.131	$-a_3$-, $-\bar{a}_3$-, $-u_3$-, $-e_3$-, -ethu/-ethu^n, $-e^n{}_1$-, -he/-he^n+	KIHA/KIHA^n/KI^{n}HA/ KEHA^n/KE^{n}HA^n "dative/accusative postposition"[123]	- /= 1,52,81/
i.132	-	J_1- "relativeness"[124]; see jā-	-aba/-ava, -as-/ -ais-/, $-\bar{a}_3$, $-e_7$, -ei/-ei^n/-eī/-$e^n{}_1{}^n$, -ethu/-ethu^n, -ema/ $-e^n$ma, -aihā

i.133	Verbal bases like khā-/ṣā- "to eat"	$-J_2$- "passive"[125]; see $-i_5$-, $-e_9$-	$-a_{10}$-
i.134	-	JAĪ "if"[126]	-
i.135	-	JAṆI/JAṆI^n/JAṆE "prohibitive particle"[127]; see junu, mā	-
i.136	-	JĀ- "relativeness"; see j_1-	-hā/-hā^n/-^{n}hā
i.137	-	JUNU "prohibitive particle/?/"[128]; see jaṇi/jaṇi^n/jaṇe, mā	-
i.138	$-e^n{}_1$+	JEU^n "as, like"[129]	- /= 1/
i.139	$-\emptyset_8$-, $-a_{10}$-	-Ṇ- "verbal substantive (gerundium)"[130]; see $-v_1$-	$-a_1$, $-i_8$-, $-e_{12}$-
i.140	-	T_1- "2nd pers.sg.pronoun"	-u/-u^n/-ū^n, -ai/ -ai^n, -o/-o^n, -or-
i.141	-	T_2- "demonstrativeness/correlativeness"; see tā-, s-	-aba-/-ava, -as-/ -ais-, $-\bar{a}_3$, $-e_7$, -ei/-ei^n/-eī/-$e^n{}_1{}^n$, -enha/-enhu/-ehū/ -ehū^n/-e^nnha, -ema/ $-e^n$ma, -aihā, $-au_2$
		-T- see also under $-{}^nT$-/-T-/-NT-!	

i.142	-	TĀ- "demonstrativeness/correlativeness"; see t_2-, s-	-hā/-hā^n/-^{n}hā
		-TI see under -^{n}TI/-TI!	
i.143	-	TUMH- "2nd pers.pl.pronoun"	-a_6,-e_8
i.144	-a_3,-a_6,-$\bar{a}_3$, -au_2,-hi/-hi^n +	TO/TAU "ablative postposition" 131	- /= 1,51-2/
i.145	-e_7, -e_8,-enha/-enhu/-ehū/-ehū^n/-e^{n}nha +	DUI-/DUĪ-/DŪ- "periphrastic dual"[132]	-$\emptyset_6$
i.146	-$\emptyset_8$-	-N- "perfective participle"[133]; see - $\emptyset_{13}$-	-e_6
i.147	-	NA "negative particle"; see NĀTHI	-
i.148	-	NĀTHI "he/she/it is not" [134]; see āthi, na	- /= 21!
		-NT- see under -^{n}T-/-T-/-NT-!	

i.149	Substantival bases like tithi-āti- "pilgrim"	-NHA "obl.pl.masc./subst./"[135]; see -$\emptyset_4$,-a_3;-anha/-anhu/-anhū/-ahū,-a^n, -ā^n,-u_3,-e_3,-e^n$_1$, -ai^n,-^{n}$_1$	- /= 1/
i.150	-$\emptyset_4$,-a_6,-anha/-anhu/-anhū/-ahū, -$\bar{a}_3$ +	PĀSA "ablative/instrumental postposition"[136]	- /= 1,51-2/
i.151	-e^n$_1$ +	PĀHŪ "locative postposition"[137]	- /= 1/
i.152	-e_7, -e_8 +	RAHUT- "periphrastic plural"; see sav-	-u_2
i.153	-	M- "1st pers.sg./obl./pronoun"; see haū^n/hau^n	-ai/-ai^n,-o/-o^n, -or-
i.154	-	MĀ "prohibitive particle"; see jaṇi/jaṇi^n/jaṇe,junu	-
i.155	-enha/-enhu/-ehū/-ehū^n/-e^{n}nha +	MĀJHA/MĀJHA^n/MĀ^{n}JHA/MĀ^{n}JHA^n "locative postposition" [138]	- /= 52/
		Y- see J_1-![139]	
i.156	-$\emptyset_{13}$-	-YA "dir.pl.masc./adj./"[140]; see -e_5	- /= 31,322/

i.157	$-e^n_1$ +	NĀ^{n}DHA "locative postposition"[141]	- /= 1/
i.158	$-Ø_8$-, $-a_{10}$-	$-V_1$- "verbal substantive"; see -n-	$-e_3$, $-e^n_1$
i.159	$-Ø_8$-, $-a_{10}$-	$-V_2$- "verbal adjective"[142]	$-a_5$, $-i_3$
i.160	Verbal bases like pā- "to get"	$-V_3$- "causativeness"[143]; see -!-,-av-/-āv-/ $-ā^nv$-,$-ār_2$-,-āl-	$-Ø_7$-, $-i_5$-
i.161	-	VĀ "or"	-
i.162	$-i_3$ +	VĀRA "times"[144]	- /= 82/
i.163	$-a_3$ +	-VĀL- "derivation of denominative substantives"[145]	$-a_1$, $-ā_1$
i.164	-	S- "demonstrativeness/ correlativeness"; see t_2-, tā-	-o, $-au_1$
i.165	$-e_3$, $-e^n_1$ +	SAU^n/SE^{n}U^n "instrumental post-position"[146]	- / = 1/
i.166	$-e_7$ +	SAV- "periphrastic plural"[147]; see babut-	$-a_1$

i.167	$-Ø_9$-,$-i_6$-,-iha-/ -īha-, $-e_{11}$-	-SI "2nd pers. sg."[148]; see $-u_5$ SE^{n}U^n see under SAU^n/SE^{n}U^n ;	- /= 2-
i.168	-	SAU^n/HAU^n "1st pers.pronoun /dir.sg./"[149]; see M-	- /= 51/
i.169	Adverbs like upara "above"+	HANTĪ "from"[150]; see hu^{n}ta	- /= 81/
i.170	i-/ī-$_1$, kā-, jā-, tā-	-HĀ/-HĀ^n/-^{n}HĀ "place adverb"; see -ethu/-ethu^n	+ hu^{n}ta;
i.171	$-i_8$-, $-e_{12}$-	-HĀR- "nomen agentis"[151]	$-a_1$,$-i_1$,$-e_3$,$-e^n_1$
i.172	$-Ø_4$,$-Ø_5$,$-a_3$, $-a_4$,$-ā_3$,$-i_2$, $-e_3$,$-e^n_1$,-o/-o^n+	-HI/-HI^n "pleonastic affix of obl.sg., mostly dat./acc."[152]; see -he/-he^n	+ to/tau / = 1,51-2/
i.173	-	HI/HI^n/HĪ^n "exclusive emphatic particle"; see i/i^n, he^n	-
i.174	-	HU$_1$ "inclusive emphatic particle"; see u_1	-
i.175	$-Ø_9$-	$-HU_2$ "1st pers.pl."[153]	- /= 2/

i.176	$-\tilde{e}_9-$	$-HU_3$ "2nd pers.pl."[154]	- /= 2/
i.177	$-e_3$,-hã/-hã^n/ $-^n$hã	HU^nTA "from"[155];see hantĩ	- /= 1,81/
i.178	$-\tilde{a}_3$, $-e_3$ +	-HE/-HE^n "pleonastic affix of obl.sg.,mostly dat./ acc."[156];see -hi/ -hi^n	+kiha/kiha^n/ki^{n}ha/ keha^n/ke^{n}ha^n; /= 1,52/
i.179	-	HE^n "exclusive emphatic particle";see i/i^n, hi/hi^n/hĩ^n HAU^n see under HAU^n/HAU^n !	-

	What may precede	Elements under consideration	What may follow
ii.1	-	S 1	P 21,P 22,P 31^c, P 31^i.21,P 31^c.21, P 422^i.21,P 43,P 52^c, P 61^i.21; A 1^{obl},A 31^i,A 52^i, A 52^c,A 53^i,A 61^i, A 61^c,A 62^i,A 91^a, A 91^i, A 91^c
ii.2	-	S 31	P 21
ii.3	-	S 321	P 21; O 1^{dir}
ii.4	-	S 421	P 21
ii.5	-	S 51	P 21,P 22, P 52^c
ii.6	-	S 52	P 1,P 21, P 21.21, P 22,P 31^i.21,P 31^c.21, P 321^i.21,P 43^i,P 52^C, P 61^c; A 1^{obl},A 51^a, A 63^i
ii.7	-	S 52^{erg} [158]	P 322
ii.8	-	S 61	P 21, P 22; A 61^i
ii.9	-	S 63	P 31^c; A 52^a
ii.10	-	S 91	P 21, P 22
ii.11	S 52	P 1	A 53^i
ii.12	-	P 1.22 [159]	O 1^{dir}
ii.13	-	P 1.31^c	C 722

ii.14	S 1, S 31, S 321, S 421, S 51, S 61, S 91	P 21	C 1, C 31^{c}, C 321^{i}, C 322^{c}, C 411, C 412, C 422^{a}, C 52^{a}, C 52^{c}, C 61^{a}, C 61^{i}, C $61^{i}.721$, C 711, C 712, C 721, C 722, C 81, C 82, C 91^{a}, C 91^{i}
ii.15	S 52	P 21.21 [160]	-
ii.16	S 1, S 51, S 52, S 61, S 91	P 22	O 1^{dir}, O 1^{obl}, O 31^{obl}, O 322^{dir}, O 412^{dir}, O 61^{dir}, O 51^{obl}, O 52^{dir}, O 52^{obl}, O 61^{dir}, O 61^{obl}, O 91^{a}; C 1, C 411, C 412, C 51, C 52^{a}, C 52^{c}, C 61^{a}, C 711, C 712, C 721, C 722, C 81, C 82, C 91^{a}
ii.17	S 1, S 63	P 31^{c}	C 1, C 51, C 81, C 91^{i}
ii.18	S 1, S 52	P $31^{i}.21$	C 1, C 52^{a}
ii.19	S 1, S 52	P $31^{c}.21$	C 1, C 52^{c}
ii.20	-	P 321^{i}	C 82, C 91^{i} O 52^{dir};
ii.21	S 1, S 52	P $321^{i}.21$ [161]	O 1^{dir}, O 412^{dir}, O 52^{dir}; C 1, C 421^{a}, C 52^{c}, C 81
ii.22	S 52^{erg}	P 322^{c}	O 1^{dir}; C 81
ii.23	S 1	P $422^{i}.21$	O 1^{dir}, O 52^{dir}; C 81

ii.24	S 1, S 52	P 43^{c}	C 1, C 51, C 52^{a}
ii.25	S 51, S 52	P 52^{c}	A 51; C 81
ii.26	S 52	P 61^{c}	C 53^{i}
ii.27	S 1	P $61^{i}.21$	C 1
ii.28	-	P $61^{c}.21$	C 52^{a}
ii.29	-	P $61^{i}.22$	O 1^{dir}
ii.30	-	P $61^{i}.31^{i}.21$	C 721
ii.31	-	P 722.21 [162]	O 1^{dir}
ii.32	S 321; P 1.22, P 22, P $321^{i}.21$, P 322^{c}, P $422^{i}.21$, P $61^{i}.22$, P 722.21; A 712; C 712, C 722	O 1^{dir}	A 31^{i}, A 322^{c}, A 52^{i}, A 52^{c}, A 53^{i}, A 61^{i}, A 61^{c}
ii.33	P 22; A 712; C 712, C 722	O 1^{obl}	A 61^{i}
ii.34	P 22	O 31^{obl}	-
ii.35	P 22	O 322^{dir}	-
ii.36	P 22, P $321^{i}.21$	O 412^{dir}	O 61^{dir}
ii.37	P 22	O 51^{dir}	-
ii.38	P 22	O 51^{obl}	-
ii.39	P 22, P $31^{i}.21$, P 321^{i}, P $321^{i}.21$, P $422^{c}.21$	O 52^{dir}	-
ii.40	P 22	O 52^{obl}	-

ii.41	P 22; O 412^{dir}	O 61^{dir}	-
ii.42	P 22; C 712	O 61^{obl}	-
ii.43	P 22	O 91^{a}	-
ii.44	C 1	A 1^{c} 163	-
ii.45	S 1, S 52	A 1^{obl}	A 61^{c}
ii.46	S 1; O 1^{dir}	A 31^{i}	-
ii.47	O 1^{dir}	A 322^{c}	C 1, C 51
ii.48	S 52; P 52^{c}	A 51	-
ii.49	S 63	A 52^{a}	-
ii.50	S 1; O 1^{dir}	A 52^{i}	-
ii.51	S 1; O 1^{dir}; C 1	A 52^{c}	-
ii.52	S 1; P 1; O1^{dir}	A 53^{i}	-
ii.53	C 1	A 53^{c}	-
ii.54	S 1, S 61; O 1^{dir}, O 1^{obl}; C 1	A 61^{i}	C 1
ii.55	S 1; O 1^{dir}; A 1^{obl}; C 1	A 61^{c}	-
ii.56	S 1; C 1	A 62^{i}	-
ii.57	C 1	A 62^{c}	-

ii.58	S 52	A 712 [164]	O 1 ^{dir}, O 1 ^{obl}
ii.59	S 1	A 91^{a}	-
ii.60	S 1	A 91^{i}	-
ii.61	S 1	A 91^{c}	-
ii.62	P 1.22, P 21, P 22, P 31^{c}, P 31^{i}.21, P 31^{c}.21, P 321^{i}.21, P 43^{c}, P 61^{i}.21; A 322^{c}, A 61^{i}; C 711, C 722	C 1	A 1^{c}, A 52^{c}, A 53^{c}, A 61^{i}, A 61^{c}, A 62^{i}, A 62^{c}
ii.63	P 21	C 31^{c}	-
ii.64	P 21	C 321^{i}	-
ii.65	P 21	C 322^{c}	-
ii.66	P 21, P 22	C 411	C 1
ii.67	P 21, P 22	C 412	O 1^{dir}
ii.68	P 321^{i}.21	C 421^{a}	-
ii.69	P 21	C 422^{a}	-
ii.70	P 22, P 31^{c}, P 43^{c}; A 322^{c}	C 51	-
ii.71	P 21, P 22 P 31^{i}.21, P 43^{c}, P 61^{c}.21; C 722	C 52^{a}	-
ii.72	P 321^{i}.21	C 52^{c}	-
ii.73	P 61^{c}	C 53^{i}	-
ii.74	P 21, P 22	C 61^{a}	-
ii.75	P 21	C 61^{i}	-
ii.76	P 21	C 61^{i}.721	-

ii.77	P 21, P 22	C 711	C 1; s 1^{dir}, s 1^{obl}
ii.78	P 21, P 22	C 712	O 1^{dir}, O 1^{obl}, O 61^{obl}; C 81
ii.79	P 21, P 22 P $61^{i}.31^{i}.21$	C 721	-
ii.80	P 1.31^{c}, P 21, P 22	C 722	O 1^{dir}, O 1^{obl}; C 1, C 52^{a}
ii.81	P 21, P 22, P 31^{c}, P $321^{i}.21$, P 322^{c}, P $422^{i}.21$, P 52^{c}; C 712	C 81	-
ii.82	P 21, P 22, P 321^{i}	C 82 [165]	-
ii.83	P 21, P 22	C 91^{a}	-
ii.84	P 321^{i}	C 91^{i}	-
ii.85	C 711	s 1^{dir} [166]	-
ii.86	C 711	s 1^{obl}	-

NOTES

1 Damodara /15/.

2 Chatterji /13/, p.2.

3 Chandra /12-,p.74.

4 For the first time edited with English translation and a vocabulary by Bhayani /5/; further Gupta /21/,and Si^{n}h /59/, pp.355 ff.Comp.their different opinios with regard to the character of the language.

5 Comp.Chatterji /13/,p.54.

6 Bloch-Trager /7/,pp.53 ff.; Elson-Pickett /18/,pp.4 ff.; Gleason /19/,pp.91 ff.

7 Elson-Pickett /18/, pp.48-49.

8 Comp.Gleason /19/,p.167.

9 This is inspired by a classification of the morphologic elements as given by Uspenskij /70/,pp.27 ff.

10 For definitions of S,P,O and A see Marouzeau /33/, s.v. suiet, prédicat, complément direct and épithète; I have not better definitions for the time being. C may be defined preliminarily as such a sentence part function which is neither S, nor P, O and A. It includes the so-called indirect object, the traditional complement and all sorts of circumstances .

11 E.g.Guru /22/, pp. 68 ff.

12 Inclusive of the passive forms, both inherited and periphrastic. The aspect of transitivity is relevant only in eventual relationship to an object, and that in the functor classes 2,3, 41-2 and 7. Besides however, it extremely important for the functor class 3 with regard to the ergative /or, agentive/ constructions.

13 In the functor class 2, thus, only the inherited synthetic verbal forms are placed; new analytic verbal forms have their place elsewhere, mostly in the functor class 3.

14 With an eye to the sentence part functions realized by verbal adjectives, it is not necessary to consider the aspect of transitivity in this case.

15 The relative pronoun, being nothing but a substitute of a sentence part realized mostly by a clause, cannot realize

any sentence part function and must be considered a grammatic word; and similarly the correlatives.

16 Inclusive of the tatsama participles.

17 I.e.various quotations, especially in the metalanguage; this does not occur in Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa.

18 An associate dependent sentence part is e.g. tenha mā^{n}jha^{n} in tenha ma^{n}jha^{n} kavaṇa e 19,27 "tayosteṣāṃ vā madhye katamo'yam".

19 An incongruent form of the accordant dependent sentence part is e.g. dekhava in purāṇa dekhava 12,17 "purāṇaṃ draṣṭavyam" or chuṭa in chuṭa vacha bhami bhami kūda 35,9 "chuṭito vatsakastarṇṇako vā bhrāntvā bhrāntvā kurddati". A congruent one is e.g. bhava in bahutu rāiā ethu^{n} bhui^{n} bhava 10,14 "bahavo rājāno atra bhūmau bhavanti sma babhūvurvā" or devi in e beṭī kāhi devi 22,27 "iyaṃ kanyā kasmai deyā" or pūta kare^{n} in pūta kare^{n} vadhāve^{n} nāca 36,25 "putrasya varddhāpanake nṛtyati".

20 Sometimes the oblique form is used in the place of the ergative; the inddex ^{erg}, however, is always used.

21 This conception has been inspired by two lectures of Dr.Jarmila Kalousková C.Sc. on the contextual analysis of Chinese, delivered at the Oriental Institute, Prague, in 1963 and 1964.

22 I recommend to the reader's attention the following books that took a considerable part in the formation of my conception, either positively or negatively, though some of them are not explicitly referred to: Axmanova-Mikaeljan /3/, Bach /4/, Bloch-Trager /7/, Elson-Pickett /18/, Gleason /19/, Jespersen /25/, Meščaninov /35/, Reformatskij /53/, Tesnière /64/ and Uspenskij /70/.

23 Comp.Bach /4/,pp.5 ff., 10 ff., 185 ff.

24 Miltner /38/,/39/,/40/,/41/,/42/,/43/,/44/ and /45/.

25 Comp.my first tentative morphologic key to the Gypsy language, Miltner /36/. The transliteration used throughout the study need not be explained, being an usual one. I would like only to remind of that a vowel symbol may not only have two values, but the same phoneme may be represented by two symbols in Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa; comp. Chatterji /13/, pp.3-4; Tulpule /68/, pp.11-12.

26 It is necessary to differentiate carefully between the radical -u-, as in kuu- "well" or deu- "god", and the affix -u, as in dūdhu "milk" or eku "one".

27 The sign + indicates optional morphologic elements.

28 However, the substantivized adjectives are declined in accordance with the respective substantives; comp. Śrīvāstav /62/, p.163.

29 Sometimes used as the subjunctive, e.g. hau^{n} sahasau jinau^{n} 9,28 "ahaṃ sahasramapi jayāni" or jaṇe ho so bhājayā ... 10,7 mā bhavat sā bhāryā ..."

30 Chatterji /13/, pp.18, 56-57, discusses the development of the 3 rd pers. sg. affix OIA -ati> -a. But this -a is not the marker of the 3rd pers.sg., but merely a thematic affix, while it is a zero affix which expresses the 3 rd pers.sg.

31 Only one instance is found in Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa, and that ambe īhā^{n} ācha 14,28 "vayam iha asmahe"; comp. Chatterji /13/, p.57. Moreover, also 3 rd pers.pl.can be expressed by a zero affix, e.g. in Rāula-vela pare and phūla, Gupta /21/, pp.47, 54; here, of course, the thematic affix -a- is interpreted as a conjugational one.

32 Special contracted dir.sg. masc. forms of perfective participles are ā 14,29 and 23,15 "āgataḥ", gā 14,30, 15,2 and 22,1 "gataḥ",and bhā 9,7 and 11,13 "bhūtaḥ". Comp.also an inherited form of mua 46,26 "mṛtaḥ".

33 Kellogg /29/, pp.255 ff., Tagare /63/, p.284, and Panse /49/, p.101, think of vṛddhi, too, which is higly disputable.Comp.upaḍa 44,1 "utpaṭati" and upāḍa 44,1 "utpāṭayati", ukila 52,12 "utkilati" and ukela 52,12 "utkelayati", sa^{n}kuḍa 52,19 "saṃkuṭati" and sa^{n}koḍa 52,19 "saṃkoṭayati". See Kellogg /29/, pp. 255 ff.,; Duroiselle /17/, pp.34, 208 ff.; Tagare /63/, pp. 284-285; Śrīvāstav /62/, pp. 127-128; Panse /49/, p.101; Śāstrī /61/, pp.115 ff.

34 The development of the simple and extended nominal forms in NIA is dealt with e.g. in Śāstrī /61/, pp.21 ff.; 127 ff.; Tulpule /68/, pp. 59-60, 76; Dave /16/, pp.50 ff. A very intersting exposition is found in Karpuškin /28/, pp.112 ff.; comp.Miltner /40/, p. 597.

35 The affix -a is applied for both genders, but the feminines have moreover -i etc.; comp. Apabhra^{n}śa fem.

kara^{n}ta, nia^{n}ta and gaṇa^{n}ti, di^{n}ti, Bhāyāṇī /6/, p.38; also Saksena /55/, pp.160-161, and Jhā /26/, pp. 285, 355-356.

36 Comp. -aü in Rāula-vela, Gupta /21/, p.38, and the same affix in Apabhra^{n}śa, Bhāyāṇī /6/, p.37.

37 Comp.early Awadhi, Saksena /55/, pp. 233 ff. The root in various modifications is attested also in Dakkhini, Saksenā /56/, pp. 60-61; Old Western Rajasthani, Tessitori /65/, pp. 139 ff.; Gujarati, Śāstrī /61/, pp.155 ff.; Nepali, Srivastava /60/, pp.120 ff.; Maithili, Jhā /26/, pp. 482 ff.; early Bhojpuri, Tiwari /67/, pp. 176-177; Bengali, Caṭṭopādhyāẏ /10/, pp. 261 ff.; Oriya, Karpuškin /27/, pp. 57 ff.; Romani /or, Gypsy/, Lípa /32/, p.141.

38 Braj an-, Mīrzā Khān /46/, p.45; Hindi an-, Tivārī /66/, p. 419; Old Western Rajasthani aṇa-, Tessitori /65/, p. 196; early Gujarati aṇa-, Śāstrī /61/, p. 317; Dave /16/, pp.113 ff.

39 Once -aṁhe 22,10 appears, but it has been corrected by the editor as -aṁhū or -ahū, comp. Chatterji /13/, p.33. In Rāula-vela also -enhu and -aha^{n}, Gupta /21/, pp.28 ff. Si^{n}h /58/, pp. 63-64,says that this affix is a characteristic feature of Eastern Apabhra^{n}śa. Bhojpuri has -an, -ani, -anh, -anhi etc., Tiwari /67/, p.107; Maithili -anha, -anhi, Jhā /26/, pp.15, 290 ff.; also Bundeli -ana, Jaiswal /24/, p.65.

40 In Apabhra^{n}śa appa-, appaṇ-, Tagare /63/, pp.274 ff.; Rāula-vela has āpanu, Gupta /21/, p.28.

41 Apabhra^{n}śa -avvā, -avve^{n}, -āva, -āu, Chatterji-Sen /14/, p.208; Old Western Rajasthani -ava, Tessitori /65/, p.125; Hindi -ab, Tivārī /66/, p.494.

42 But not if relative or correlative because these pronouns only enable a sentence to take on the function of a sentence part and, consequently, they must be considered auxiliary /grammatic/ words.

43 Comp.Tagare /63/, pp. 207-208. In Prakrit aṁh-or aṁmh-, Mehendale /34/, p. 257; Apabhra^{n}śa aṁh-, Bhāyāṇī /6/, p. 47.

44 Comp.Gupta /21/, p. 56; Mīrzā Khān /46/, p.45.

45 The long radical vowels are mostly shortened before this affix, e.g. lāṁ and laṁāta 50,20-21, mūṁa and muṁāta 51,6-7, but sūṁha and sūṁhāva 51,18; comp. Tagare /63/, p. 284; Śrīvāstav /62/, pp. 128-129; Kellogg /29/, pp.254 ff.; Tivārī /66/, pp.473-474; Jaiswal /24/, p.126, and also Lípa /32/, pp. 116-117; Miltner /36/.

46 Comp.Bundeli both dir. and obl. kaunu, Jaiswal /24/, p.79; ko, however, has different oblique form.

47 In Rāula-vela are -aiṁ- and -iṁ-, -iṁ-, Gupta /21/,pp.24 ff.; Awadhi -aṁ-, Saksena /55/, p.207; Apabhra^{n}śa not only aiso, kaiso, jaiso, taiso, Hemacandra /23/ 403, but also annaiso and avarāiso 413 "anyādṛśaḥ"; early Marathi -aiṁ-, Tulpule /68/, p.67; Old Western Rajasthani -iṁ- and -eṁ-, Tessitori /65/, p.119; Hindi -aiṁ-, Tivārī /66/, p. 456; Romani - ays-, Lípa /32/, pp.84,91; Miltner /36/.

48 Comp. Mīrzā Khān /46/, p.45; Tulpule /68/, p.81; Pense /49/, p.77; Karpuškin /27/, p.87.

49 The vocative cannot realise any sentence part function, standing as it were outside the sentence structure.

50 Apabhra^{n}śa -aho, Hemacandra /23/ 346; Sen /57/, p.87; Pischel /90/, p.516; but comp. Buddhistic Sanskrit devīho, Sen /57/, p.92, and Apabhra^{n}śa taruṇiho, Hemacandra /23/ 346, therefore -a-ho and -i-ho? Feminine forms are not evident in Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa at all. Dave /16/, pp. 18-19, and Sen /57/, p.85, think it being originally a vocative particle ho.

51 For early Bengali, Mukherji /47/, p.21, says that "in the majority of cases roots serve as individual words, e.g. hariṇi ... The nominal roots are generally of constant structure and inflections are added to them as suffixes, e.g. hariṇi-ra..." Further, however, he gives the forms hariṇa "deer" and hariṇī "doe", p.24. Hence it follows, I think, that hariṇi cannot be considered a root. Therefore I give forms like beṭ- "son/daughter" as the substantive base and only the affixes distinguish the gender and also the number, and the case.

52 Perhaps also adjective bases like parā- "somebody else's", with -ā-ā contracted? Comp.fem. form parāī 9,31, and also Braj parāvā, Gupta - ta^{n}jan /20/, p.1070, and Bundeli masc. parāo, Jaiswal /24/, p.82.

53 Comp. jā in Rāula-vela, Gupta /21/, p.31.

54 But not if relative or correlative, which cannot realize any sentence part function, being only substitutes and therefore auxiliary /grammatic/ words.

55 Only one instance: kāu 36,16 "kadācanāpi"; is it really so?

56 A special case of historic development. Apabhraṃśa atthi is for both the present and past tense, Tagare /63/,p.313; it is held for a Prakritism. In Rāula-vela āthi, Gupta /21/, p.42; Awadhi āthī /Jāyasī/, Saksena /55/, p.234; Dakkhini āth- "to be", Saksenā /56/, pp.60-61.

57 Comp. Sen /57/, p.182; Hemacandra /23/434, Tagare /63/, pp. 280-281; Kellogg /29/, pp.170 ff. Rāula-vela has not only e.g. ambāre 20, but also tāraü 26, tāre 27 and tāri 21 for the 3rd pers.sg.

58 Romani uses this derivative affix with substantives,adjectives and participles, e.g. rov- "to cry" and rovlar- "to cause to cry"; comp. Lípa /32/, pp. 115-116; Miltner /36/.

59 Apabhraṃśa -āl-, Tagare /63/, p.284; comp. also Kellogg /29/, p.255.

60 bhāta^{n} maṃsa^{n} loṇa ghiu etavate^{n} kavale^{n} bhaṣāgi galagalāva 46,15 "bhaktamāṃsalavapaghṛtāni etāvadbhiretāvadbhiḥ kavalaiḥ bhakṣāgnirgalagalayati".

61 gohārāva 7,9 "deśipadam; āhvayatītyarthaḥ"; comp.gohāri in gohāri ghāli sūta jagāva 50,20 "ghūtkāraṃ kṛtvā suptaṃ jāgarayati".

62 Comp. Saksena /55/,p. 195; Jaiswal /24/, p.80.

63 Only if -et-i, precedes.

64 Comp. Chatterji /13/, pp. 57-58. Mukherji /47/, pp.50, 65 ff., labels the passive marker -i- in early Bengali as an "extending vowel".

65 Comp. Awadhi past māreu^{n} . māris etc., Tivārī /66/, p.223; Saksena /55/, p.260.

66 Comp. Chatterji /13/, p.37.

67 Comp. Chatterji /13/, pp. 23-24.

68 Comp. Saksena /55/, pp. 318-319. Chatterji /13/, p.67, differentiates i<hi and i^{n}<eva.

69 Comp.Bhāyāṇī /6/, pp. 39-40; Tagare /63/, pp.324 ff. Reduplicated absolutives are discussed in Chatterji /13/, p. 63; Tivārī /66/, p.491.

70 Its origin is dealt with in Chatterji /13/, p.51; comp. Jaiswal /24/, p.77.

71 In Apabhraṃśa sometimes still -s-, Tagare /63/, pp. 307 ff. Awadhi -ih-, Saksena /55/, p.261; Śrīvāstav /62/, pp.146 ff.; Braj -ih-, Varmā /72/, pp.104 ff.; Caturvedī, pp.55, 58.

72 Comp.Rāula-vela karī^{n} in kāuva karī^{n} dhaṇu aḍaṇī^{n} 21, Gupta /21/, p.51.

73 Comp. Saksena /55/, p.313.

74 Chatterji /13/, p.29, says that "the -u thus properly belongs to the nominative" and explains its occurrence as an oblique affix; comp. also Chatterji /13/, p.40, and Sī^{n}h /58/, pp. [illegible]-100. The affix -u for both dir. and obl. appears in Nepali, Srivastava /60/, p.91.

75 The same in Apabhraṃśa, Bhāyāṇī /6/, p. 37; and also in Rāula-vela, Gupta /21/, p.43. In Braj -u is treated as masc., Mīrzā Khān /46/, p.39, feminine -i.

76 Comp. Bhojpuri -o, Tiwari /67/, p.168. For Braj, Mīrzā Khān /46/, p.39, confuses imperative and subjunctive forms.

77 Comp. 2 nd pers. pl. tumh- and unanalyzed 1st pers. sg. haü^{n}/bau^{n}.

78 The form kareau^{n} 16,7 is obviously a scribe's error; corrected as karaü^{n} by the editor. Early Awadhi has -au^{n}/-o^{n} , contracted with the thematic vowel, Saksena /55/, p. 254; Hindi -ū^{n}, Tivārī /66/, p. 487. A suspicious form is acchaü^{n} in je^{n}u^{n}ve kiha^{n} rādhata acchaü^{n} 20,24-25 "jiṃvituṃ rādhyatā sthīyate"; should it be perhaps acchai?

79 I do not analyze this form; it is possible, however, to analyze it as e-Ø, comp. dir. pl. masc. ee, Tagare /63/, pp. 232 ff. In Apabhraṃśa e, Bhāyāṇī /6/, p. 47; Rāula-vela has ehe, Gupta /21/, p.52; Gujarati e , Śāstrī /61/,p.253; Dave /16/, pp. 32 ff.; early Bhojpuri ĕ, e, Tiwari /67/, p.134; early Maithili i, ī , ei, Jhā /26/, p.409. Comp. also the dir. sg. forms av, eia, e, ee in Lebedeff /31/, pp. 33, 41, 44 ff.

80 Comp. Jhā /26/, p. 15; and also Romani loc. -e in e.g. khére, ďivese, Lípa /32/, pp. 75-76; Miltner /36/.

81 With regard to the use of this affix in feminine comp. Tagare /63/, pp. 154 ff.

82 Prakrit e, te, ye, se, Mehendale /34/, pp. 258, 262; Apabhraṃśa e, te, Bhāyāṇī /6/, p.47; in Rāula-vela je, te, Gupta /21/, p.36; early Marathi -e for masculine only, Bloch /8/, pp. 249 ff.; Tulpule /68/, p.65; early Gujarati -e also for singular, Dave /16/, pp. 32 ff. A quite interesting form of dir. masc.pl. ee in Apabhraṃśa, Tagare /63/, pp. 232 ff. In the cases as ko e soa 21,2 "ka eṣa svapiti śete vā", ko e soanta ācchā 21, 2-3 "ka eṣa svapannāste śayano vā", keiṃ e sovia 21, 3-4 "kenaitat supyate śayyate vā" etc., the demonstrative pronoun has as it were the function of an place adverb; comp. Pořízka /51/, pp. 198 ff.

83 Not if relative or correlative.

84 The affix -e$_8$ is de facto identic with -e$_7$.

85 A graphic variant or a contraction of the passive marker and the thematic affix?

86 Contracted ya-śruti and the thematic affix? Both evident forms, namely dhāe 22,9 "dhyāyati" and pāeṃta 9,16 "alapsyat", permit this hypothesis.

87 Comp. Chatterji /13/, pp. 24, 60-61; connected with the adverbizer -e? It could be so, the form being derived from perfective participles. For early Bengali, Mukherji /47/, p.61, says that such a form like "gilesi ... seems difficult". He thinks that "the correct reading would probably be gilasi". But, obviously, -e- is the marker of the past tense /or, of the adverbization of the respective perfective participle?/ and -si is the marker of the 2nd person of singular only. The orthographic confusion between -a- and -e-, as in saala and saela, suggested by Mukherji, is a bad fit because no ya-śruti can be thought of in gilesi.

88 Identic with -e, the affix of the masculine oblique case of singular? Comp. Kellogg /29/, p.227.

89 Only one instance: kījae in abo kāha Īhāṃ kījae 20,3 "bhoh kimetadiha kriyate".

90 An adverbial participle from the verbal base chāṭ- "to cut" emphasized by hi, namely chāṭeṃhi, has been shifted to the function of an adverb meaning "quickly, at once": chāṭeṃhi rasoi sīja 50,19 "jhaṭiti rasavatīṃ sādhayati". Comp. also interesting Apabhraṃśa forms kasarakkhiṃ "kasarakka iti śabdaṃ kṛtvā" and ghuṃṭehiṃ "ghuṃṭa iti śabdaṃ kṛtvā" in Hemacandra /23/ 432.

91 Only and solely if jo precedes! See the note under j$_1$-.

92 But not if relative or correlative.

93 Early Awadhi -ka/-eka, Saksena /55/, p.314; comp. also Kellogg /29/, p.151; Tessitori /65/, p.123; Dave /16/, p.37; Jhā /26/, p.354.

94 Prakrit -etti-, Chatterji-Sen /14/, pp. 185, 200; Apabhraṃśa -etti-, -itti-, Tagare /63/, p.331; early Awadhi -et- or -etan-, Saksena /55/, pp.208-209; Hindi -itt- or -itāṃ-, Tivārī /66/, pp. 457-458; Old Western Rajasthani -et-, -etal-, Tessitori /65/, pp. 118, 123,132; early Marathi -et-, Tulpule /68/, p.67; Dakkhini -et-, Saksenā /56/, p.52; Karkhandari -itt-, Narang /48/, pp. 50, 70.

95 Apabhraṃśa -etthu, Bhāyāṇī /6/, p. 42; Tagare /63/, pp. 330-331; in Rāula-vela -ethu, Gupta /21/, pp. 38, 43; early Bengali -ethā, -ethā, Mukherji /47/, p.178; Oriya -ethi, Karpuškin /27/, p.42.

96 But not if relative.

97 There are similar forms, namely teṃha, tenha, in Rāula-vela, Gupta /21/, pp. 36, 61.

98 But not if relative or correlative.

99 Chatterji /13/, p.59; Awadhi -es-u, Saksena /55/, p.269. Comp. also respective forms of the so-called parokṣavidhi kāl in the works of Tulsīdās, Śrīvāstav /62/, pp. 154 ff., confused, however, with the forms of verbal adjectives.

100 Is it emphasized? Comp. Saksena /55/, p.314.

101 Chatterji /13/, pp. 36-37, 45; Gupta /21/, p.28; Bhāyāṇī /6/, p.44.

102 Chatterji /13/, p.41.

103 Saksena /55/, pp.318-319; Śrīvāstav /62/, p.71; Jaiswal /24/, pp. 165 ff.; Jhā /26/, p. 578.

104 Discussed by Chatterji /13/, p.38; perhaps, the form cannot be considered an emphasized one. Prakrit feminine instrumental prāṇāe, vayai, pūjāye etc., Sen /57/, pp. 85 - 86.

105 Early Awadhi -ahi, -aĩ, Saksena /55/, p. 254; thematic affix and -i < OIA -ti contracted.

106 A contraction of the radical vowel and the absolutive marker -i, -e.g. lai in lai lai palā 11,18 "ādāyamādāyaṃ palāyate", und pai in pai pai ṣāja 20,21 "paktvā paktvā khādyate".

107 Prakrit instrumental -ae, -aĩ, -aĩ^{n}, -e, Pischel /50/, pp. 609 ff.; Apabhra^{n}śa -aĩ^{n}, Bhāyāṇī /6/, p.47; Rāula-vela has e.g. taĩ^{n} Gupta /21/, p.52. Further comp. Tagare /63/, pp.207, 214; Dave /16/, pp. 30-31; Jaiswal /24/ /24/, pp. 69 ff. Kellogg /29/, p.76, says that the ergative construction is wholly unknown in Eastern Hindi; nevertheless, it occurs not only in Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa, but also in other works, comp. e.g. Śrīvāstav /62/, pp.64, 73.

108 A contraction of the radical vowel and the affix, e.g. paiha in pēka kariha paiha 9,22 "pakṣyati paktā vā pacyād vā". Comp. Braj forms laihau^{n}, lehsi^{n}, Varmā /72/, pp. 105-106.

109 Only one instance appears in Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa, namely jaihā jaihā dharmu cada taihā taihā pāpu khasa 33,16 "yasmin yasmin dharmaścaṭati caṭayati vā tasmin tasmin pāpaṃ skhalati hrasati vā"; it is obvious that the original locatives /Chatterji /13/, p.48, and Si^{n}h /58/, pp. 77-78/ have been shifted to the function of conjunctions here. In this occasion I would like to point out once more that the relatives and correlatives /both adjectives and adverbs/ can never express any sentence part function, being, as a matter of fact, only grammatic words.

110 Only if jo precedes.

111 In Rāula-vela to, tohĩ, Gupta /21/, p.35.

112 A queer affix: kaise^{n} tau to chūṭesi 23, 17-18 "kathaṃ tasyā mukto'si".

113 Comp. Saksena /55/, p.313; Śrīvāstav /62/, p.71; Jaiswal (24), pp.165 ff.; Jhā /26/, p.577.

114 Comp. Chatterji /13/, p.41. In Rāula-vela e.g. rāhũ^{n}, Gupta /21/, p.50; comp. also Śrīvāstav /62/, pp. 50, 59.

115 In Rāula-vela e.g. gorī^{n}, lāchi^{n}, Gupta /21/, pp. 44, 50. The form of bhui^{n} in bahutu rājā ethu^{n} bhui^{n} bhava 10,14 "bahavo rājāno atra bhūmau bhavanti sma babhūvurvā", though undoubtedly in an oblique /loc./ case, cannot be perhaps analyzed as bhui-^{n}; comp. Braj direct case bhui^{n} Gupta-Ṭa^{n}ḍan /20/, p. 1314, Nepali direct case bhui^{n}, Srivastava /60/, p. 84, etc.

116 Used also as the conditional, Si^{n}h /58/, p. 82; Kellogg /29/, pp. 233 ff. labelled it as the indefinite imperfect. Apabhra^{n}śa -^{n}t-, Bhāyāṇī /6/, p. 38; Rāula-vela has -t- or -nt-, Gupta /21/, pp. 37, 42; Hindi -t-, Tivārī /66/, p. 490; Romani has -nd-, though some deny it, but comp. e.g. urũando mišos "bat" /lit. "flying mouse"/, Miltner /36/.

117 But early Awadhi has -hi^{n} or -ai^{n}, Saksena /55/, pp. 254 ff.; Apabhra^{n}śa both -hi^{n} and -^{n}ti, Bhāyāṇī /6/, p. 36; early Marathi -ta/-ti, Tulpule /68/, p. 71.

118 Prakrit ker-, Chatterji-Sen /14/, p. 199; Apabhra^{n}śa ker-, Bhāyāni /6/, pp. 48-49; Tagare /63/, pp. 195-196; early Awadhi kar-, Saksena /55/, pp. 21 ff.; in Tulsīdās' works both kar- and ker-, Śrīvāstav /62/, p. 55; Romani -ker-/-ger- / phonetically conditioned/, Lípa /32/, pp. 59, 74-75; Miltner /36/. Comp. Grierson's table in Bloch /8/, p. 342.

119 Shifted absolutive of kar- "to do"; comp. Old Western Rajasthani kari, karĩ, Tessitori /65/, pp. 67, 69-70; early Gujarati karĩ, Dave /16/, p. 57; Śāstrī /61/, p.33.

120 Shifted substantive in the oblique case. In Rāula-vela kaja, Gupta /21/, p. 59; Old Western Rajasthani kajaĩ^{n}, kaji, Tessitori /65/, p. 92; early Gujarati kājĩ^{n}, Śāstrī /61/, p. 40; Braj kāje^{n} or ke kāje^{n}, Caturvedi /11/, pp. 53-54.

121 Comp. Maithili hoh^{i}kār- "to scare by shouting hoho", Jhā /26/, p. 451.

122 It is unnecessary, perhaps, to analyze it as k-i. In Rāula-vela also ki, Gupta /21/, p.33.

123 Apabhraṃśa kehiṃ, Bhayani /6/, p.48; early Awadhi kahaṃ, kaṃhaṃ etc., Saksena /55/, p. 215; comp. also Chatterji /13/, p. 42, and Grierson's table in Bloch /8/, p. 342.

124 If an interrogative/indefinite form follows, ji- takes on the meaning of "-ever", e.g. jo kichu in jo kichu kīja 15,5 "yat kiñcit kriyate". Comp. Awadhi jo kucha or jo kichu "whatever", Saksena /55/, p. 206, and Bundeli jo kachū "whatever", jo koū "whoever", Jaiswal /24/, p. 82; Hindi jo kuch, jo koī, Kellogg /29/, p. 206.

125 Due to the historic development, the verbal base kar- "to do" has its passive form derived from the variant base kī-, e.g. kījata in kāha kījata ācha 20,7 "kiṃ kriyamāṇamāste"; comp. kījaï in Rāula-vela, Gupta /21/,

126 Sould it be analyzed as ji-aï ? Apabhraṃśa jaï, Tagare /63/, p.334; early Bengali jaï, Jhā /26/, p. 567.

127 Comp. early Awadhi jeni, jini, Saksena /55/, p.307.

128 It occurs in jaṇe ho so bhājayā junu yāthi 10,7 "mā bhavat sā bhāryā yasyāḥ putro nāsti mā bhūd vā". Chatterji /13/, pp.3, 14, tries to explain both junu and yāthi; in in the vocabulary, however, junu is translated as putraḥ, Damodara /15/, p.61, which is beyond belief. Comp. early Maithili jaṇu, jaṇū, jūṃi, Jhā /26/, p. 565.

129 Early Maithili jauṃ, Jhā /26/, p. 440.

130 In Apabhraṃśa agent noun, e.g. bollaṇaū "vaktā", māraṇaū "marayitā", Hemacandra /23/ 443; Śāstrī /61/, p. 321. It is only in Hindi dialects /not in the standard Hindi/ where both types of verbal substantive, namely in -ṇ-/-n- and in -v-/-b-, are found; comp. Jaiswal /24/, p. 132.

131 Prakrit ablative e.g. puttāhiṃto, Pischel /50/, pp. 515 f.f. According to Tessitori /65/, p.78, taū < huṃtaū; Śāstrī /61/, p.129.

132 Comp. Tagare /63/, p. 106.

133 In Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa only from the verbal base de-/dī- "to give". Prakrit -ṇ- or -n-, Sen /57/, p.173; Mehendale /34/, p.267; Chatterji-Sen /14/, pp. 120,121, 203; Rāula-vela e.g. dīṇaū, Gupta /21/, p.42; Awadhi diṇṇa, dīna, dīnha, and also diyā, Saksena /55/, passim; Braj dīno, Varma /72/, p. 96; early Marathi dinhala,

Tulpule /68/, pp.68, 78; Bloch /8/, p.269; Romani dino, Lipa /32/, pp. 108 ff.; Miltner /36/.

134 For Awadhi comp. Saksena /55/, p.309. Old Western Rajasthani uses nathī as a negative particle, Tessitori /65/, pp. 139 ff.; semilarly early Gujarati, Dave /16/, p. 70; early Bengali nāhi, however, is used as a finite verb, Mukherji /47/, pp. 72-73. The development is discussed in Sen /57/, pp. 170-171, and in Tagare /63/, p.313.

135 In Rāula-vela, -nhu is frequent also for feminines, Gupta /21/, p. 51.

136 Comp. Chatterji /13/, p.42. Old Western Rajasthani pāsiṃ, pāsaïṃ etc., Tessitori /65/, pp. 67 ff.; Gujarati pāse also loc. /comp. Hindi pās, ke pās/, Śāstrī /61/, p.61; early Marathi pāsi also dat., Tulpule /68/, pp.56 ff., comp. pāsauni and lāgauni, Panse /49/, p.80. From these examples it is obvious that the usual case labels do not come near the reality as far as the New Indo-Aryan languages are concerned.

137 Early Awadhi pāhīṃ, pahiṃ, paṇaṃ, Saksena /55/, p.228; Old Western Rajasthani pāhi, pāhiṃ, Tessitori /65/, pp.67, 82; early Gujarati pāhaiṃ, Dave /16/, p.57. This form occurs only once in rāuleṃ pāhū rāṃdha ko ācchiha 21,10-11 "rājakulacaraṇānāṃ saṃnidhau kaḥ sthāsyati", translated by Chatterji /13/, p.39, as "near, beside the rāwals or noblemen?" However, could not pāhū be interpreted as pā- "foot" and -ahū "obl.pl. masc.", i.e. caraṇānāṃ of the Sanskrit translation?

138 Comp. early Awadhi māṃjha, māṃjhā, Saksena /55/, p.225; in Tulsīdās works also mājha and majhārī, Śrīvāstav /62/ p.58; Bhojpuri has mājh, mājhe, Tiwari /67/, p.114.

139 Comp. Chatterji /13/, p.3.

140 A graphic variant of -e only; comp. Chatterji /13/, p.3.

141 This postposition occurs superfluously /?/ in rāuleṃ pāhū rāṃdha ko ācchiha 21,10-11 "rājakulacaraṇanaṃ, saṃnidhau kaḥ sthāsyati"; Chatterji /13/, p.39. Comp. Braj rāṃdha "near, by, at", and see also note 137. If pāhū is interpreted as an obl. pl. masc. form, then rāṃdha is not superfluous here, though Chatterji /13/, p.39, thinks so.

142 Comp. Tagare /63/, pp.319-320; Dave /16/, pp. 54-55; Tulpule /68/, pp. 78-79. Some authors label these adjectival forms as the future tense, e.g. Jhā /26/, p.15; Mukherji /47/, pp.55, 63; Si^{n}h /58/, p.82; it is, however, wrong, comp. such futural forms as e.g. debau^{n}, Saksena /55/, pp. 261 ff.

143 Perhaps contracted pā-av-? Or is it only va-śruti? In Apabhra^{n}śa both primary and causative are formally identic: pāvaï both prāpati and prāpayati, Tagare /63/, p.284.

144 Shifted, therefore unanalyzed.

145 Prakrit -vāl-, Sen /57/, p.187. In Hindi both agent nouns and denominatives, Guru /22/, p.343; Kellogg /29/, pp.227, 355; Tivārī /66/, p.416.

146 Apabhra^{n}śa sahu^{n}, Bhāyāṇī /6/, p.48; early Awadhi sau^{n}, so^{n}, Saksena /55/, p.222; Old Western Rajasthani siu^{n}, Tessitori /65/, pp. 67, 71-72. Chatterji /13/, p.39, emends se^{n}u^{n} as seu^{n}.

147 Comp. Kellogg /29/, pp. 103-104; Lebedeff /31/, pp. 23 ff.; Jhā /26/, pp. 292 ff.; Karpuškin /27/, p.28; Tiwari /67/, p.107.

148 Chatterji /13/, pp. 60-61, differentiates -si of the past tense, but it is unnecessary, I think, for the purposes of the structural description; moreover, he does not suggest any consequent explanation. In Rāula-vela also -si. Gupta /21/, p.37, and in early Awadhi as well, Saksena /55/, p.254; early Marathi has -sa/-si, Tulpule /68/, p.71.

149 Its development is discussed in Tagare /63/, pp.207-208.

150 Only one instance: upara hanti kāḍhe^{n} tala chaḍa pede^{n} raha 35,5 "upariṣṭādākṛṣṭo upariṣṭādākṛṣṭe tala śiṣṭaṃ prakaraṇe rahati".

151 Comp. Tivārī /66/, pp. 416-417; Mīrzā Khān /46/, p.48; Varmā /73/, p.297; Saksena /55/, p.285; Saksenā /56/, p.60.

152 Comp. Si^{n}h /58/, p. 102; Chatterji /13/, p.37, says of it that it is "maid-of-all-work". In Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa in singular only, but. comp. Pischel /50/, pp. 515 ff.; Si^{n}h /58/, p. 75; Chatterji /13/, pp. 37-38, where, however, all the instances of plural are unconvincing. As to its occurrence

comp. also Mehendale /34/, pp. 240 ff.; Sen /57/, pp.78 ff.; Tagare /63/, pp. 120 ff.; Saksena /55/, pp. 318-319; Mīrzā Khān /46/, pp. 38, 44, connects it especially with the accusative case and the object. Its pleonastic character is clear from such examples as: mo sana - mohi sana, mo pāhī^{n} - mohi pāhī^{n}, to so^{n} - tohi so^{n}, Śrivastav /62/ pp.67 ff.

153 Apabhra^{n}śa -hu^{n}, Bhāyāṇī /6/, p.36; Pischel /50/, pp.671 ff.; early Awadhi -hi^{n}, Saksena /55/, p.254; early Marathi -o^{n}/-ū^{n}, Tulpule /68/, p.71. If Śrīvāstav /62/, pp. 141 ff., says that the 1st pers. pl. markers are -ā and -ī and the 2nd pers. pl. markers are -ī and -e, e.g. kahā in āpana carita kahā mai^{n} gāī, bisārī in svāratha rata prabhu bhagati bisārī, dekhī in tuma dekhī sītā mṛganaini, and dhāre in tumha priya pāhune bana pagu dhāre, then he seems to make fools of the credulous readers.

154 Chatterji /13/, p.57, says that the final vowel -u stands for expected -a and explains it. Prakrit -ha, Pischel /50/, pp. 671 ff.; Apabhra^{n}śa -hu/hu, Bhāyāṇī /6/, p.36; Tagare /63/, pp. 286 ff.; early Awadhi -hu, Saksena /55/, p. 254; Hindi -o /contracted with the thematic affix/, Tivārī /66/, p. 487.

155 Apabhra^{n}śa ho^{n}taü, Hemacandra /23/ 355, 372, 379; early Awadhi huta, huti, hute etc., Saksena /55/, pp. 222-223; early Maithili hunte, hate, Jhā /26/, pp. 308, 320; Old Western Rajasthani hu^{n}taü, hu^{n}tī, Tessitori /65/, pp. 67, 78 ff.

156 Apabhra^{n}śa -he, Bhāyāṇi /6/, pp. 44 ff.

157 Comp. similar syntactic analyses in Miltner /40/, /45/.

158 The origin of this important syntactis construction is mentioned in Burrow/9/ p. 354; for the development see Miltner /37/. The conception of the agent and the object is discussed in Rocher /54/. Kellogg /29/, p. 76, says that the ergative construction is wholly unknown in Eastern Hindi, which is not valid for older stages of development; comp. Saksena /55/, pp. 123-124; Śrīvāstav /62/, pp. 39-40, 64, 141; etc. The tendency towards active constructions is observed only in new Awadhi. Comp. also Konkani, Marathi and Romani; Āpte /1/, pp. 15-16; Miltner

/37/, pp. 145-146; and also some irregularities of Dakkhini, Saksenā /56/, pp. 54 ff.

159 Both intransitive and transitive verbs may serve as copulatives; comp. Śāstrī /61/, pp. 97-98. In Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa however, it is usually a compound verb, e.g. bhātu bhoǰanu kiesi 12,3 "bhaktaṃ bhuktaḥ bhuktavān vā bubhuǰāno vā odanaṃ vā".

160 Only one queer instance have been found, and that kāha kari kāha kīǰa ho 20,19 - 20 "kiṃ kṛtvā kiṃ kriyate".

161 The New Indo-Aryan analytic tenses have their source in MIA stage of development, though some traces can be seen even in OIA; comp. Prakrit /dhanasirī/ tambolaṃ sabāṇayantī acchai, Vale /71/, p. 268. Formally they do not differ from other nominals used with the copula.

162 Only one instance: dharmu kari ācha 11,11 "dharmmaṃ kṛtvā āste", discussed by Chatterji /13/, p. 62; comp. Vale /71/, pp. 116, 136, 143, 255; Chaṭṭopādhyāy /10/, pp. 285 ff.; Karpuškin /27/, pp. 60 ff.; Lāhirī /30/, pp.47 ff.

163 A remnant phrase of MIA stage only: sarada^{n} ṛtu^{n} in sarada^{n} ṛtu^{n} tada susoha nadīkara 15,24-25 "śaradi ṛtau nadyāstaṭaḥ taṭaṃ vā taṭī vā suṣṭhu sobhate".

164 A quite rare case: ko e mu^{n}ḍe^{n} mu^{n}ḍe dīrghī cūlī^{n} dhotī parihe^{n} 31,28 "ko'yam muṇḍitamuṇḍo dīrghacūḍaḥ parihita-dhautavastraḥ". It is, however, evident also in later stages of development.

165 An interesting adverbized genitive is e.g. kā kare^{n} paḍhia 27,10 "kasya gṛhe paṭhyate" or vaṇie^{n} kare^{n} kavaḍā nikheva 51,8 "vaṇijo gṛhe kaparddakān niksipyati"; Chatterji /13/, p.35, thinks that ghare^{n} could be understood, but puts an interrogation mark there. Similar cases may be met with also in later works, e.g. kāhū ke^{n} in Tulsī's Śrīkṛṣṇagītāvalī: bhūli na jāta hau^{n} kāhū ke^{n} kāū 12,1 "mai^{n} bhūlkar bhī kabhī kisīke (ghar/ nahī^{n} jātā", and also in Sūrdās' Sūrsāgar: kata ho kānha kāhu kai^{n} jāta 926, khelena kai^{n} misa ku^{n}vari rādhikā na^{n}ds mahari kai^{n} āī 1318. Comp. Gupta- Ta^{n}ḍan /20/, p.292.

166 A certain similarity can be seen here regarding the absolutives, but there is no instance of C 72 expanded by a non-sentential subject found in Ukti-vyakti-prakaraṇa: the agent of C 72 is always identic with the subject of the sentence. The non-sentential subjects are never expanded by any dependent sentence part, while the dependent complements that eventually expand C 711 /and also C 712, of course/ can be expanded almost without any limitation. The sentence part C 712 is never expanded by any non-sentential subject form the same reason as the absolutives. Perhaps, a shift of the sentence to the function of the sentence part cannot be thought of in this connexion because of the mentioned limitations of the eventual expansion of the non-sentential subject. On the other hand, however, such phrases are fairly expanded e.g. in early Gujarati: mātā apaṇī buddhii^{n} cī^{n}tavai kāji aṇasījhatai putra nai^{n} anartha karai "the mother, when her desired work is not accomplished, does injury to the son", kuṇii^{n} disi mātra vāṭa deṣāḍī hū^{n}tī i^{n} vāṭevāhū kaṣṭa pāmai ji "when somebody has shown the way only by /pointing out at/ the direction, the traveller certainly meets with danger", Dave /16/, p.67.

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